

Message Text

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45/12

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 PM-03 SPC-01 L-02

CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 SSO-00 INRE-00 IO-03

DODE-00 SAB-01 OIC-01 SAM-01 AID-10 DRC-01 EUR-10

EB-03 COME-00 FEA-01 TRSE-00 /083 W

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O R 120428Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1781

INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 1021

LIMDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - LAST LINE PARA 5 ATLANTA VICE
ARGENTINA

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: MEMCON: KUBISCH CONVERSATION WITH ARGENTINE FOREIGN
MINISTER VIGNES

1. SUMMARY. DURING HOUR AND HALF MEETING WITH VIGNES AND
SUB-SECRETARY CARASALES, ASST SECRETARY KUBISCH DELIVERED
LETTER TO VIGNES FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER AND ALSO COPY OF
THE PANAMA SPEECH; STRESSED IMPORTANCE MEXICO CITY MEETING
IN ESTABLISHING A NEW, MORE POSITIVE DIRECTION IN INTER-
AMERICAN RELATIONS; SAID SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS LOOKING
FORWARD TO COOPERATING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER VIGNES TO
INSURE SUCCESS OF MEETING AND TOWARD THE INSTILLING OF A
SENSE OF COMMUNITY IN THE AMERICAS; REVIEWED OUR THINKING
ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE MEXICO CITY MEETING, AND EXCHANGED
VIEWS WITH VIGNES ON AGENDA ITEMS.

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2. VIGNES AGREED WITH OUR IDEAS ON THE STRUCTURE OF

THE MEETING AND ARRANGED THAT ARGENTINE DELEGATION TO EXPERTS' MEETING SO INSTRUCTED, SPOKE WITH EVIDENT FEELING AND SINCERITY ON NEED TO USE OPPORTUNITY OF MEXICO CITY MEETING TO ESTABLISH NEW BASIS FOR INTER-AMERICAN COLLABORATION; SAID THAT "LATIN AMERICA CANNOT PERMIT ITSELF THE LUXURY OF A MEETING THAT FAILS "IN MEXICO CITY, EXPRESSED ARGENTINA'S STRONG INTEREST IN BEING LATIN AMERICA'S SPOKESMAN AT THE OPENING SESSION, ASKED WHAT US POSITION ON CUBA WOULD BE AT THE MEETING, AND SAID THAT HE WOULD PROVIDE SPECIFIC ARGENTINE THINKING ON AGENDA ITEMS SUBSEQUENTLY THROUGH AMBASSADOR ORFILA.

3. VIGNES WELCOMED SUGGESTION OF BILATERAL MEETING WITH SECRETARY TENTATIVELY AT ABOUT 5:00 P.M. AFTERNOON FEB 20, WITH EXACT TIME AND PLACE TO BE DETERMINED LATER. END SUMMARY.

4. AFTER OPENING PLEASANTRIES, KUBISCH, WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR HILL, MINISTER KREBS AND EATON, DELIVERED SECRETARY KISSINGER'S LETTER AND A COPY OF THE PANAMA SPEECH TO VIGNES, STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PANAMA SPEECH AS SETTING A NEW TONE AND DIRECTION IN INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS. KUBISCH SAID SECRETARY KISSINGER LOOKED FORWARD TO COOPERATING CLOSELY WITH VIGNES IN ASSURING THE SUCCESS OF THE CONFERENCE AND IN INSTILLING THE IDEA OF COMMUNITY, COOPERATION AND PROGRESS IN THE HEMISPHERE. HE SAID SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD SENT HIM TO ARGENTINA SPECIFICALLY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH VIGNES, WHOSE OPINIONS THE SECRETARY VALUED GREATLY. HE SAID THE SECRETARY WOULD ALSO WELCOME HAVING A PRIVATE BILATERAL MEETING WITH VIGNES SOME TIME AFTER HIS ARRIVAL IN MEXICO CITY, PERHAPS AROUND 5:00 PM ON THE AFTERNOON OF THE 20TH. VIGNES AGREED AT ONCE TO THIS TIMING FOR A BILATERAL MEETING AND IN RESPONSE TO KUBISCH'S QUESTION SAID HE EXPECTED TO BE LODGED IN THE CAMINO REAL.

5. KUBISCH THEN REVIEWED THE RECENTLY DISCUSSED US AND MEXICAN IDEAS ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE MEETING. ACCORDING TO THESE IDEAS THERE WOULD BE THREE OPENING SPEECHES IN PUBLIC SESSION--ONE BY PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA, ONE BY A LATIN AMERICAN FOREIGN MINISTER, AND ONE BY SECRETARY KISSINGER. CONFIDENTIAL

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THERE WOULD THEN BE CLOSED SESSIONS DURING THE REST OF THURSDAY AND FRIDAY WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER OPENING THE FIRST CLOSED SESSION WITH AN HOUR OR HOUR AND A HALF STATEMENT OF HIS VIEWS ON THE EIGHT LA AGENDA TOPICS, THE LATIN AMERICAN FOREIGN MINISTERS RESPONDING IN A MANNER YET TO BE WORKED OUT, AND SECRETARY KISSINGER FOLLOWING THE DISCUSSION OF THE EIGHT LATIN AMERICAN AGENDA ITEMS THUS INITIATED BY A PRESENTATION, PROBABLY SOMETIME ON FRIDAY, ON THE TWO US AGENDA ITEMS, THERE WOULD BE

A FINAL PUBLIC SESSION ON SATURDAY THE 23RD, AT WHICH TIME SOME SORT OF DOCUMENT WOULD BE SIGNED--SUCH AS A COMMUNIQUE, A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OR INTENTIONS, OR BOTH, OR A STATEMENT OF "BASES Y CRITERIOS". IF NEED BE, THERE MIGHT BE ONE OR MORE WORKING GROUPS ESTABLISHED FOR THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE END OF THE MEXICO CITY MEETING AND THE OPENING OF THE OAS MEETING IN ATLANTA TO CARRY FORWARD ON THE MINISTERS' DECISIONS.

6. VIGNES AND SUB-SECRETARY CARASALES AGREED WITH THE PROPOSED STRUCTURE AND VIGNES SAID A TELEGRAM WOULD BE SENT TO THE MEXICAN DELEGATION TO THE TECHNICAL EXPERTS MEETING TO BE SURE THAT THEY WERE SO INFORMED. VIGNES SAID ARGENTINA HAD NOT BEEN IN AGREEMENT WITH THE IDEA OF THREE OR FOUR DESIGNATED LATIN AMERICAN SPOKESMEN FOR EACH AGENDA ITEM BECAUSE IT HAD FELT SO MANY SPOKESMEN WOULD TAKE TOO MUCH TIME.

7. VIGNES THEN SAID ARGENTINA HAD TWO POINTS OF CONCERN. THE FIRST WAS THAT IT WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH TO BE THE DESIGNATED LA SPOKESMAN TO RESPOND TO PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S OPENING SPEECH, AND IT WOULD LIKE THE SUPPORT OF THE US AND SPECIFICALLY SECRETARY KISSINGER IN THIS REGARD. ARGENTINA FELT IT WAS IN A UNIQUE POSITON TO MAKE AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE FOR LATIN AMERICA BECAUSE OF THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PRESIDENTS PERON AND ECHEVERRIA, AND BECAUSE PERON HEADS A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT AND CAN SPEAK FOR ALL OF THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE. ARGENTINA'S SECOND POINT OF CONCERN WAS WHAT THE US POSITION ON CUBA MIGHT BE.

8. KUBISCH SAID HE WOULD REPORT ARGENTINA'S INTEREST IN BEING THE LATIN AMERICAN SPOKESMAN TO THE SECRETARY AND PRESUMED ARGENTINA WOULD BE MAKING ITS DESIRES IN THIS RESPECT KNOWN DIRECTLY TO THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH HAD THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ORGANIZING THE CONFERENCE, AS WELL AS TALKING WITH OTHERS.
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HE WAS NOT SURE WHETHER SECRETARY KISSINGER WOULD HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS A VIEW ON THIS MATTER BEFORE THE DECISION WAS MADE AND HE KNEW THAT THERE WERE SEVERAL OTHER LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS WHICH HAD ALSO EXPRESSED THEIR DESIRE TO BE SPOKESMAN.

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00

PM-03 SPC-01 L-02 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 IO-03

DODE-00 SAB-01 SAM-01 OIC-01 AID-10 DRC-01 EUR-10

EB-03 COME-00 FEA-01 TRSE-00 /083 W

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O R 120428Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1782

INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

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9. WITH REGARD TO CUBA, KUBISCH SAID THE UNITED STATES HAD NOT CHANGED ITS POSITION. HE SAID SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR TO HIM THAT HE WAS NOT CONTEMPLATING ANY CHANGE. THE US CONTINUED TO FEEL BOUND BY THE MFM RESOLUTIONS ON CUBA, AND WOULD NOT CHANGE WITHOUT CONSULTING ITS ALLIES AND FRIENDS. KUBISCH SAID HE FAILED TO SEE ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN CUBA'S POLICIES THAT WOULD WARRANT CHANGE BY THE US AT THIS TIME. HE SUGGESTED THAT VIGNES MIGHT WANT TO TAKE UP THIS POINT PRIVATELY WITH THE SECRETARY IN MEXICO CITY.

10. VIGNES SAID HE HAD LISTENED TO WHAT KUBISCH HAD SAID IN THIS REGARD WITH ALL RESPECT. HE HAD READ THAT THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT WANT TO TAKE AN INITIATIVE TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF CUBAN RELATIONS WITH OTHER AMERICAN COUNTRIES. HE PERSONALLY THOUGHT AN AMERICAN COUNTRY, NOT THE SOVIET UNION, SHOULD TAKE SUCH AN INITIATIVE. HE BELIEVED THE SITUATION OF CUBA HAD CHANGED, NOT IN THE SENSE THAT CUBA HAD CHANGED ITS POLICIES, BUT RATHER IN THE SENSE THAT THERE WAS NOW MORE OF A SENSE OF TOLERANCE IN THE WORLD AND MORE OF A DESIRE TO RESOLVE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. BECAUSE OF THAT, THE MOMENT MIGHT HAVE ARRIVED FOR A CONFIDENTIAL

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CHANGE IN CUBAN RELATIONS WITH THE HEMISPHERE, AND IT MIGHT BE UP TO THE UNITED STATES TO DO SOMETHING THAT COULD BRING ABOUT THAT CHANGE.

11. KUBISCH THEN ASKED HOW ARGENTINE-CUBAN BILATERAL RELATIONS WERE GOING. THIS LED TO A DISCUSSION OF ARGENTINE CREDIT TO CUBA AND OF THE PROBLEM OF POSSIBLE SALES TO CUBA BY US SUBSIDIARIES IN ARGENTINA. (THIS DISCUSSION WILL BE REPORTED IN MORE DETAIL SEPTTEL.) VIGNES CONCLUDED ON THIS POINT BY SAYING THAT ARGENTINA COULD NOT PERMIT THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF ARGENTINA AND ITS FIRMS TO BE CONTROLLED BY ANY FOREIGN GOVERNMENT.

12. THE CONVERSATION TURNED TO THE MFM AGENDA, AND KUBISCH ASKED VIGNES WHAT VIEWS AND POSITIONS THE GOA HAD DEVELOPED. VIGNES RESPONDED THAT HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO RESPOND IN SPECIFIC TERMS AT THIS TIME BUT WOULD SEND ARGENTINE THOUGHTS TO THE UNITED STATES LATER THROUGH AMBASSADOR ORFILA.

13. KUBISCH COMMENTED AGAIN ON HOW MUCH SECRETARY KISSINGER VALUED VIGNES' OPINIONS. VIGNES WARMED TO THIS POINT AND RETURNED TO ARGENTINA'S DESIRE TO BE THE LATIN AMERICAN DESIGNATED SPOKESMAN AT THE OPENING SESSION. HE SAID ARGENTINA BELIEVES IN INTEGRATION NOT JUST OF LATIN AMERICAN BUT OF THE WHOLE HEMISPHERE INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. KUBISCH ASKED HIM TO REPEAT AND HE CONFIRMED WHAT HE HAD SAID. HE THEN EXPANDED BY SAYING THAT THERE SHOULD BE INTEGRATION OF SUB-REGIONAL GROUPINGS OF COUNTRIES, OF LATIN AMERICA AS A WHOLE, AND ALSO THE HEMISPHERE INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. HE DID NOT ELABORATE FURTHER, BUT HIS WHOLE MANNER WAS CONSTRUCTIVE. HE CONCLUDED THAT ARGENTINA COULD BE VERY HELPFUL IN SETTING THE RIGHT TONE FOR THE MEXICO CITY MEETING.

14. KUBISCH ASKED IF VIGNES SAW ANY POSSIBILITY OF SOME KIND OF CONFRONTATION DEVELOPING AT MEXICO CITY AND IF SO BY WHOM, ON WHAT ISSUE OR ISSUES, OR FOR WHAT PURPOSE.

15. AT THIS POINT, VIGNES BEGAN TO SPEAK WITH OBVIOUS FEELING. HE SAID THAT THE PERIOD OF A UNITED STATES MONOLOGUE IN INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAD ENDED, AND THAT, THANKS TO SECRETARY KISSINGER, THE PERIOD OF DIALOGUE HAD BEGUN--A PERIOD IN WHICH

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THE IDEAS OF LATIN AMERICAN WOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. THE POLICY OF THE BIG STICK HAD BEEN A BAD MISTAKE. THE SECRETARY'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF UNITED STATES WILLINGNESS TO DIALOGUE HAD RAISED GREAT EXPECTATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA. THUS THERE SHOULD NOT BE AN ATMOSPHERE OF CONFRONTATION. OTHERWISE, NOTHING POSITIVE OR CONSTRUCTIVE WOULD COME FROM THE MEXICO CITY MEETING. THERE MIGHT BE SOME HARSH NOTES; BUT ARGENTINA, FOR ITS PART, WAS GOING TO THE MEXICO CITY MEETING WITH THE FULLEST SPIRIT OF COLLABORATION. ARGENTINA'S POLICY THROUGHOUT THE HEMISPHERE IS NOT ONE OF TRYING TO LEAD, BUT RATHER ONE OF COLLABORATION. ARGENTINA WILL SUPPORT POSITIVE RESULTS FROM THE

MEXICO CITY MEETING. SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS STARTED THE HEMI-SPHERE ON THE ROAD TO THAT END; ARGENTINA WILL BE A SUPPORTER. AN EXAMPLE OF THE TYPE OF POSITIVE RESULTS THAT HE HAD IN MIND WAS THAT OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL JUSTICE. UNDER THIS PRINCIPLE ALL WEALTHIER COUNTRIES SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE WELFARE AND ADVANCEMENT OF POORER COUNTRIES.

16. KUBISCH REFERRED TO SECRETARY KISSINGER'S ABILITY AND PRESTIGE AND SAID THERE WAS MUCH HE COULD DO, BUT HE NEEDED TO HAVE THE COOPERATION OF HIS FRIENDS LIKE VIGNES TO ACCOMPLISH IT.

17. VIGNES SAID ELOQUENTLY AND FEELINGLY "LATIN AMERICA CANNOT PERMIT ITSELF THE LUXURY OF A CONFERENCE THAT FAULS." HE INDICATED HE WAS PREPARED TO WORK CLOSELY AND COOPERATIVELY WITH THE SECRETARY.

18. KUBISCH ASKED WHAT VIGNES THOUGHT SHOULD COME OUT OF THE CONFERENCE, AND VIGNES SAID, AFTER THINKING A MOMENT, THAT THERE SHOULD BE A DECLARATION THAT PROVIDED THE BASES FOR A NEW RELATIONSHIP, FOLLOWED BY ACTIONS TO RESOLVE BILATERAL PROBLEMS. WHEN QUERIED ABOUT WHAT BILATERAL PROBLEMS HE MEANT, HE SAID THE IMBALANCE IN TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ARGENTINA. HE SAID THE US MUST OPEN ITS DOORS WIDER TO ARGENTINE EXPORTS.

19. THE MEETING ENDED WITH SUB-SECRETARY CARASALES ASKING, WITH REGARD TO THE ENERGY ITEM ON THE AGENDA, WHETHER SECRETARY KISSINGER ENVISAGED MORE THAN SIMPLY A REVIEW OF THE RESULTS OF THE ENERGY MEETING IN WASHINGTON. KUBISCH SAID HE THOUGHT SECRETARY KISSINGER WOULD BE MORE THAN WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN A FULLER DISCUSSION OF THIS IMPORTANT TOPIC.

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20. COMMENT. VIGNES SEEMED VERY SINCERE IN HIS FEELING THAT MEXICO CITY MEETING IS A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO ESTABLISH A NEW, MORE POSITIVE, MORE CONSTRUCTIVE SET OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA, AND IN HIS EXPRESSION OF ARGENTINA'S DESIRE TO COLLABORATE TO THIS END. THIS RELATIVELY RECENT AND ENCOURAGING ARGENTINE STANCE APPEARS TO BE--AT LEAST IN A GOOD MEASURE--A RESPONSE TO OUR OWN OVER-TURES AND EFFORTS TO CULTIVATE ARGENTINA IN RECENT MONTHS, PARTICULARLY THE GESTURES MADE BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY TO PERON AND VIGNES. HOWEVER, PERON IS MERCURIAL AND UN-PREDICTABLE, AND VIGNES HAS NOT ALWAYS MATCHED HIS ACTIONS TO HIS WORDS. THUS WE HAVE LAID ABOUT THE BEST BASE WE CAN FOR CO-OPERATING WITH VIGNES AND HIS DELEGATION IN MEXICO CITY, BUT WE MUST CONTINUE TO NURTURE THIS STILL SOMEWHAT FRAGILE RELATIONSHIP AND BE SENSITIVE TO ITS CHANGING REQUIREMENTS. IF ARGENTINA IS IN OUR CORNER AT THE CONFERENCE, AFTER THEY WERE VIRTUALLY CALLING FOR OUR EXPULSION FROM THE OAS LAST JUNE, IT WILL INDEED BE ONE OF THE MAJOR ADVANCES OF THE YEAR.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING AGENDA, FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 FEB 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974BRASIL01021
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BRASILIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740240/aaaablei.tel
Line Count: 332
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ARA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04 SEP 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <04 SEP 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <10 DEC 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MEMCON: KUBISCH CONVERSATION WITH ARGENTINE FOREIGN MINISTER VIGNES
TAGS: PFOR, MX, US, (KUBISCH, JACK B)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005